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Place-based public service delivery: A method to mitigate Social Risk?

Abstract

This study examines the approach taken by one Scottish council in the use of a place-based approach, aiming to investigate whether systemic mitigation of social risk can be achieved with place-based social innovation. Many local authorities have utilised the 'Total Place' ideology in the UK as a means of redesigning the public service system. This paper presents a longitudinal review of The City of Edinburgh Council's approach to Total Place, based on qualitative documentary and interview data collected over five years from 2012-2017. The paper presents the experiences from approaches implemented in the city and learning points put forward to the council. It finds that social risk can be mitigated locally, but continued commitment and conscious effort to use the learning from their Total Places is required from the local authority in whatever future approach they take to localities working.

Keywords

Place-based working, Localities, Social innovation, Social risk, Public service, Edinburgh

Introduction

The debate about localism, place and community governance has seen significant development over recent years in the UK, e.g. with Total Place pilots in England (HM Treasury & Communities and Local Government, 2010), and later with the Localism Act, which proposed devolution of more powers to local authorities and neighbourhoods. The thinking around place-based working and the focus being placed on the outcomes of local communities have been actively present also in Scotland (The Scottish Government, 2011: 2015), the focus of this paper.

Total Place was a policy initiative piloted in 2009 in England, but a change in government led to a rebranding of the Total Place idea, and terminology such as place-based budgeting or mechanisms, whole place approach and community budgets, have been used to describe similar ventures (Breeze et al., 2013; Children England, 2010). Total Place originally focused

on how public money is spent locally, how this could be done more efficiently, and how the needs of the local area could be met. In essence, local services were delivered based on a geographic place as opposed to the traditional service provision or functional basis, enabling local budgets to be pooled together to avoid service duplication. The key drivers for this change in public policy were collaboration, the need for prevention, local innovation and cost savings (Grint & Holt, 2011; HM Treasury & Communities and Local Government, 2010; Jones & Stewart, 2012; Willis & Jeffares, 2012).

Funding cuts, which have been prevalent in the past decade, can increase poverty and deprivation and lead to other unexpected consequences, introducing an element of risk, potentially further exacerbating poverty and deprivation. Social risks can have more subtle social impacts that go beyond poverty and deprivation, of which there is as yet little understanding, including anti-social behaviour, loss of opportunities and unfairness in access to resources (Asenova & Stein, 2014). Indeed, as local governments faced austerity measures, it is not surprising that the fundamental idea of Total Place was considered attractive in terms of the innovative use of already existing resources (Children England, 2010).

Councils across the UK have initiated projects based on the broad ideas of the Total Place pilots, including some Scottish local authorities (Building Safer Communities, 2014; East Lothian Council, 2015; Mill, 2016). This paper examines the approach taken by one Scottish city council in the use of Total Place, with a specific focus placed on the impact the approach has on social risk. The research aims to investigate whether systemic mitigation of social risk can be achieved with place-based social innovation.

Contemporary place-based developments in Scotland

Jones and Stewart (2012) argued that while there have been changes in community governance, its structure has become increasingly fragmented within different organisations, yet with no adequate methods of integration between them. In Scotland, Community Planning – emphasising a bottom-up approach – is among the policies that were developed, giving local authorities and other organisations targets (Carley, 2006; Lamie & Ball, 2010; Local Government in Scotland Act 2003). Integration was recognised as necessary and approaches like Community Planning and Total Place responded to this to some extent. However, the onus was on the local authorities to take a leadership role in developing these activities locally, but with no powers given to ensure effectiveness or to secure integration. Therefore, the system of community governance remained fragmented due to not having the necessary means of integration.

In an attempt to respond to the challenge of delivering better outcomes for local communities, some Community Planning Partnerships in Scotland have turned to Total Place type arrangements, including Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh (Building Safer Communities, 2014; The Scottish Government, 2011). The Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO, 2011) was keen to see some Total Place pilots emerging in Scotland so that the viability of the model could be assessed, with particular areas of focus identified as preventative spend and early intervention projects. The propositions of the Christie Commission (2011) support this approach, though they also wanted to see different collaborative approaches become the norm, rather than be isolated approaches of good practice. The Scottish Government (2011) welcomed a move from relying on funded pilots to a more mainstreamed approach to fostering change.

The Scottish Government (2011) identified that most social problems in Scotland are more acute in a small number of areas. Consequently, service providers need to design and deliver

services which meet the specific needs of local communities and as such help these areas to build up their community assets and capacity. Asenova and Stein (2014) referred to the Scottish Government's "prevention agenda", which is all about preventing the occurrence of social problems rather than trying to fix them after they have already occurred. Many of the adverse impacts of negative social risks are complex with potentially multiple implications not just for the individuals, but various public bodies and agencies are also affected. Addressing them early is essential. However, while there are opportunities with a place-based approach, it is not a straightforward approach, as it requires working across agency boundaries, focusing on both shared outcomes and organisational targets, demanding transparency and accountability (The Scottish Government, 2011).

While many of the English Total Place pilots reported positive results (see for instance Be Birmingham, 2010), the approach has not been without its critics. Dhar-Bhattacharjee et al. (2010) found that the potential savings made from the Total Place pilots were hard to quantify. Other challenges in the Total Place thinking include how to continue to work differently along with how to broaden and deepen this type of work (de Beer et al., 2010). To ensure the success of a whole area approach, including that whole systems and organisational change is achieved, the emphasis has to be placed on commitment, leadership, transformation and a significant culture change in public services (PwC, 2010; Willis & Jeffares, 2012).

Due to the short-lived nature of the original English Total Place pilots, it has been impossible to evaluate the long-term results of the policy initiative. It is therefore interesting that Scottish councils have picked up this initiative and implemented place-based approaches with the same name. However, these developments follow the publication of the Christie Commission's (2011) report, which argued that Scottish public services needed urgent and sustained reform, including a radical and new collaborative culture. The Christie report was highly influential in

Scottish policy-making, and for the implementation of the Total Places especially. The approach was seen as a policy that could be used in response to the broader reform agenda, as well as being driven by the austerity measures. Other drivers having been quoted in the Building Safer Communities report (2014, p. 4) include it being ‘part of Public Service continuous improvement (Best Value)’ and there being a ‘need to realise even greater efficiencies’.

Total Place approaches, whether in England or Scotland, fit neatly into the broader localism agenda, which focuses on greater local power and discretion, both for public service managers and the local level (Asenova et al., 2013). One could argue that the Total Place approaches in England stopped in name only, and simply because there was a change in the political party in power. Seemingly, decision-makers in Scottish local authorities saw the opportunities involved in this to some extent tried and tested policy initiative.

Social risk and social innovation and their links to Total Place

The basic ideas behind a whole place approach are by no means new: a similar concept was proposed already in 1972 (Dhar-Bhattacharjee et al., 2010; Willis & Jeffares, 2012). The challenge for all government levels were such policy areas that did not fit neatly within the traditional role boundaries of government departments, or ‘wicked issues’ (Willis & Jeffares, 2012). Wicked issues are such where the causes are not understood well, and the solutions are unclear. Furthermore, such issues would have been assigned to single organisations, whereas the solutions require more than one organisation, via some form of partnership working (Jones & Stewart, 2012; Rittel & Webber, 1973). Social risks can also be considered as part of this problematic public service landscape. Social risks can broadly be interpreted to involve any

such factor that can lead to welfare loss (Asenova et al., 2013), and they can affect specific communities more than others, which may require a place-based partnership approach to alleviate. While collaboration is not new for public service providers, and while some do it very well, PwC (2010) argued that the Total Place approach goes beyond collaboration, for instance by focusing on prevention and early intervention, where the collaboration needs to start at a much earlier stage and requires more from the participants.

Social innovation can be defined in many ways, which can be a conceptual challenge and cause of ambiguity (van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016), but may also provide opportunities in that various types of innovations can be considered under the term social innovation. This paper follows the definition of Voorberg, Bekkers and Tummers (2015) of social innovation involving:

The creation of long-lasting outcomes that aim to address societal needs by fundamentally changing the relationships, positions and rules between the involved stakeholders, through an open process of participation, exchange and collaboration with relevant stakeholders, including end-users, thereby crossing organisational boundaries and jurisdictions (p. 1334).

Social innovation delivers social change, out with established practices, but may ultimately become institutionalised (Cajaiba-Santana, 2014). The strongest connection between themes in social innovation studies exists between *societal challenges* and *local development* (communities and neighbourhoods) where participation, inclusions and empowerment of citizens play a key role (van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016). Participatory processes and citizen empowerment have been considered crucial elements of social innovation (Rana, Weerakkody, Dwivedi & Piercy, 2014). In social innovation, value is created in the form of social value, by addressing specific societal needs or problems (van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016). Thus, the mitigation of social risk can be considered a creation of social value. A Total Place approach can be considered a form of social innovation – or evolutionary innovation, as per Osborne's

(1998) classification, as it is implemented as a new approach in a specified local area with existing need.

Social innovations are often hailed for their benefits, though in many instances this is based on anecdotal evidence from single case studies, and the potential costs are ignored, with limited evidence produced of the long-term impacts (Sinclair & Baglioni, 2014). As noted, due to the original English Total Place pilots being cut short, there was limited evidence from these. However, as argued by van der Have and Rubalcaba (2016), well-defined social innovation policy could help facilitate the diffusion of local social innovations into the society, i.e. the wider public service system. In a public sector context, Rana et al. (2014) found that social innovation studies are by large conceptual, case studies and literature-oriented, with only a handful of studies being primary research based on quantitative data. Social innovation research should focus on whether successful local social innovations can be replicated and scaled up to benefit the wider society (Sinclair & Baglioni, 2014), which is the focus of this study, as it investigates whether systemic mitigation of social risk can be achieved in one local authority using a Total Place approach.

Method

This paper presents a longitudinal review of The City of Edinburgh Council's approach to Total Place, based on qualitative documentary and interview data collected over five years from 2012-2017. The early data (2012-2015) was collected as part of the authors PhD research, which was later complemented with a follow-up review of newer documentary data.

The City of Edinburgh Council has implemented three different types of Total Place Initiatives: Total Craigroyston, Total Neighbourhood East, and Wester Hailes. The latter is not included

in the review as it had not been started when data collection began, and limited information has been made publicly available. Total Craigroyston has the longest history and most data available; thus it receives much of the focus in this paper.

Eight people participated in interviews between October 2013 and May 2014. One of these was a representative of a charity, whereas seven worked for the council. Two of the council employees (Total Craigroyston Manager and Total Neighbourhood East Manager) held leadership positions within the respective Total Place initiatives at the time (see Table 1, below).

[TABLE 1]

The study posed no major ethical concerns, as the researcher only approached individuals working for the participating organisations, not service users, which would have constituted a higher ethical dilemma with potentially vulnerable individuals being approached. The research was not expected to cause any harm to participants or the researcher.

A representative of the Community Planning Partnership in the City of Edinburgh Council was given a consent form to review and approve the local authority's involvement in the research. This outlined issues around anonymity and confidentiality. The local authority agreed to be named: consequently, complete anonymity of individuals could not be guaranteed. Informed consent was given verbally by individual participants at the start of all interviews.

27 documents related to Total Place and the council's approach to related subjects of their Total Place initiative have been collected and analysed (see Table 2, below).

[TABLE 2]

Findings and discussion

Background and rationale for the council's Total Place initiatives

The three Total Place initiatives implemented by The City of Edinburgh Council all have distinctive features concerning service users and the intended outcomes, based on the specific needs of each locality. They have been implemented within the broader framework of the Community Planning Partnership (Edinburgh Partnership). The Edinburgh Partnership governance arrangements consist of strategic partnerships, cross cutting partnerships and neighbourhood partnerships. The Total Place initiatives sit within the cross cutting partnerships, and as such, they may support many strategic partnerships to deliver outcomes. For instance, Total Craigroyston is thematically based (improving outcomes for Children and Families in the Craigroyston area), and it has received a small pot of funding to help deliver part of its work. Total Neighbourhood East is a neighbourhood-based approach (where the specific area has a high level of deprivation), with no additional funding having been awarded for the work that they do.

There is no one single reason why the council decided to apply a Total Place approach. The drivers include those discussed earlier for the broader Scottish development of the approach, though the report by the Christie Commission (2011), appears to have been a key driver according to the Total Place Managers in Total Craigroyston and Total Neighbourhood East. However, another significant driver was put forward by the Corporate Policy and Strategy Manager. He noted that before starting their first initiative (Total Craigroyston), a tragic incident took place, involving young offenders in a criminal act. When the council investigated the root cause, it turned out it was not about a lack of resources put into public services concerning these youngsters, but a lack of coordination of those resources, which resulted in very chaotic intervention in their lives. The council realised that it was spending a lot of money

on vulnerable people without actually improving their quality of life: instead, it was often adding further problems, leading to increased social risk, which was already exacerbated due to cuts to public funding (Asenova & Stein, 2014). The Total Place approach is seen to be financially sensible from two perspectives:

Actually, some of these families, it costs them because they are not getting an improved life, but it costs us money, which we have less of – so why don't we engage with those families and individuals in a different way that would be better for them, but will also save us money (Corporate Policy and Strategy Manager).

Thus, by delivering these same services in partnership and by taking a Total Place approach to the service delivery, the social risks to individuals and communities could be reduced, and the cost of delivering services could be mitigated (Corporate Policy and Strategy Manager).

Particularly the Total Neighbourhood East was set up with the intention of better coordinating services. However, the Total Craigroyston Manager argued that also in their case, which concerns early prevention and intervention, the management of social risk was a particular concern. For instance, in the Craigroyston area, youth crime has a very different pattern to the rest of the city, with young people getting involved in criminal activity much earlier and staying in it much longer, as well as committing crimes in their community. This is why a localised approach is so valuable, instead of using a generic public service approach across the city.

The process of developing a Total Place initiative

When the Total Craigroyston Manager started working on this project, there was a lot of duplication of effort. She tried to introduce more clarity regarding working practices so that everyone understands the roles. A more coherent strategy has been implemented for this: 'We have got a much clearer understanding of who is doing what, with who, when and why'. The

Total Neighbourhood East Manager noted that all the different agencies – the Council, the Police and the NHS – have their own plans for their services, which is wasting and duplicating efforts. Through constructive discussion with frontline practitioners, managers, and the community, they have identified a number of themes that help them work on the same issue in a more joined-up way, including *customers in common* and *organisational development*. By understanding the customers the different agencies have in common, as a collaboration they can better understand how they can collectively and more efficiently respond to any problems. Organisational development refers to the need to achieve a fundamental cultural change regarding the perception of roles among the agencies. Sometimes agencies need to give something up, and this is often not easy to achieve.

Community engagement and a change in culture are seen as very important for the Total Place initiatives in Edinburgh, and this is not different to what has been found important more broadly for whole-place approaches (PwC, 2010; Willis & Jeffares, 2012). The Total Neighbourhood East Manager said:

We have worked together in the past, sometimes on an ad hoc basis, sometimes on a project basis, or working on a specific initiative... Total Place is different in that it's not a project, it's a fundamental change of approach about how we work together, and more in particular how we develop our relationship with communities to deliver the services that actually they are supportive of. It's less about doing things *to* people, and working *with* people (Total Neighbourhood East Manager).

The Total Craigroyston Manager supported this view of Total Place, and argued that they wanted to see genuine community engagement with this approach, and have used community engagement, discussion and consultation as part of this process to find out what is working well and what is not, what it feels like to live and work in this area, what it is like to receive services there, and so on. Based on such a consultative process, they produced a “road map”, which is a document about setting the direction, while also being flexible enough to allow for changes in the course if need be. This road map further led to the development of an action

plan, where short term and longer-term actions were identified. In addition to the consultation process, there was also a plan for arranging a symposium involving equal numbers of staff and local people in a discussion around how they could achieve a change in culture concerning community engagement, with a view to developing a longer-term strategy for this.

The reason they are focusing so heavily on community engagement is a legacy of the Christie Commission, where a Total Place-type approach can be used almost to test whether authentic community involvement is what is required to make a real difference in public services. The Total Craigroyston Manager was not entirely sure if this would be the case, as she argued that having worked in similar deprived areas before, there have been highly competent and capable people working together with residents in the local communities. However, she did see one difference to her experiences before, and that is the level of commitment for this type of working. She was keen to see whether the combination of all these factors, with the commitment from the Scottish Government, the council and the local community would be what makes the difference in the outcomes of public services.

The Total Craigroyston Manager noted that maintaining this level of commitment might be challenging, as the flexibility required in the approach and the differences that need to be seen in the way money is spent is very difficult to achieve. To get people to change their behaviour and the culture and attitude of how things are done, would not be an easy task. However, she believed that at least at the local level more localised management arrangements would appear, where managers would be enabled to make decisions about practical solutions to meet the local needs. Yet, this would require such leadership that recognises strength and assets in addition to addressing a need; therefore people with these kinds of capabilities would also be needed to work with the community.

The Total Neighbourhood East Manager stated that the frontline practitioners and the executive level were fully on board with this approach, but the middle management may struggle somewhat while trying to get the job done and meeting various performance targets. The Total Neighbourhood East Manager further explained:

Whilst there is a recognition amongst frontline practitioners that ‘actually we can be part of this, we can be more enabled, we can be more empowered’...they can feel constrained to collaborate more because they are not getting a clear message from their line management (Total Neighbourhood East Manager).

Part of the reason for this issue arising and people resisting the change may lie in the fact that they feel threatened regarding their job. While a new approach is being tested with the Total Place, it may – if successful – lead to less staff being needed to deliver better outcomes. What they are essentially trying to do is overcome decades of people working in a specific way, and this is where significant cultural change is required. However, it was also noted by the Total Neighbourhood East Manager that for this cultural change to take place, strong organisational support is required, helping to develop people to work differently.

Planned direction for the council’s Total Place initiatives

The Corporate Policy and Strategy Manager envisaged that the Total Place approach would not just be a pilot, but become part of normal activities, as “the way we do business”, which was viewed as a bit of a challenge in practice. The Total Craigroyston Manager noted that she also tries not to call the work they do a project because what they are trying to do is making a sustained change at the local level. She further argued that the very least, this approach would lead to greater integration of council and health services, particularly in the context of children and families. The end vision to the Total Place approach was argued to be joined-up and integrated services among the different statutory service providers (Total Neighbourhood East

Manager). This would mean working more closely together, focusing on the local area, making better joint use of resources and real community engagement. Indeed, if successful, the “total model” would in the future be used across the city (Audit Scotland, 2013). The Total Place in Wester Hailes (part of the Council’s Transformation Programme) was initiated due to the council having recognised the value and benefit of locality-based approaches based on the first two initiatives (The Edinburgh Partnership, 2015). However, the Acting Head of Service for Children and Families stated that:

If it [Total Place] stays defined in that way then I don’t think it will have done what it was there to do. I think the idea is to test new ways of working so I think we should go on testing new ways of working. I don’t think it should only be in one community because actually you need to test that what works in one community also works in another. At some point we have to plan our workforce development and our money allocation that responds to those tests (Acting Head of Service for Children and Families).

What the council has done, is set up three different types of Total Place initiatives, but at the time of the interviews had not seemingly replicated one approach in a different part of the city.

The outcome of the Total Craigroyston working model

Total Craigroyston was in operation for four years, from 2012, coming to its conclusion in 2016, and is the only one discussed regarding its reported outcomes. Localised mitigation of social risk seems to have materialised, with positive impacts of Total Craigroyston measured in improved literacy, exclusion across the area and youth offending reducing, and improvements seen in positive destinations amongst school leavers (Mackay, 2016). These issues are undoubtedly such that could lead to welfare loss if left unattended, and by having implemented Total Place mitigating effects have been seen in terms of these risks in the Craigroyston area. Several outcomes that came from Total Craigroyston also continue in the local area without the Total Place structure, including youth engagement groups, ‘support in

time' meetings, and a community action group to help local residents influence decisions that affect their community (Mainstreaming Newsletter). Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that the social innovation has had a sustained effect beyond the framework of Total Place, and it has created opportunities for the community to build resilience, by giving local people more chances to come together and support one another.

Learning points for the local authority in developing a more systemic response based on the Total Craigroyston initiative include that complex problems may require complex solutions and the understanding that these solutions may not be the same for different localities. Furthermore, the council should 'stop re-inventing the wheel – there is plenty good practice that can be built on' (Mackay, 2016). As noted by the Acting Head of Service for Children and Families:

We are trying very hard to learn from what is happening in those areas. I think it is probably a very important approach both for the council and for the service user. What it is asking you to do is to look outside the parameters and the way that you normally do things (Acting Head of Service for Children and Families).

The lessons learned from the approach have been fed into the council's Transformation Programme, with the new Locality Teams aiming to utilise these. For instance, the argument that too many people are involved with the families has been a focal point of the initiative, and reduction in this has been sought and is something the new Locality Team is expected to continue developing (Mainstreaming Newsletter). The City of Edinburgh Council (2015) has argued that the current service delivery model creates: additional costs; unnecessary bureaucracy; and ultimately poor outcomes for citizens and communities, especially those with complex needs, which is their rationale for Locality Transformation. The Locality Transformation Plan (The City of Edinburgh Council, 2015) suggests that the council's future service delivery needs to focus on Total Place. This fits under the council's strategic objective on empowering citizens and communities and improved partnership working.

The future of the work undertaken by Total Craigroyston lies within the new locality working in the council, which would need to focus on ‘building social capital – the networks and linkages that exist between people and groups is what enables groups of people to take action on issues that affect them’ (Mackay, 2016). However, though the Total Craigroyston project was seen as a model for the new Localities working across the city, the council has faced reduced resources and budget constraints, and as a result, the Total Craigroyston model will not be replicated across Edinburgh after all (Pickering, 2016a). This is interesting given that cost savings were proposed as a rationale for the original Total Place initiatives, with existing resources being used differently. It is indicative of a lack of wider commitment and understanding of what the initiative has tried to achieve, as the elements of commitment and culture change highlighted as important for success (PwC, 2010; Willis & Jeffares, 2012) have not fully materialised. Instead, it was suggested in Edinburgh that ‘some elements of the local project will be “mainstreamed” into council services, some may be adopted by individual Localities while other initiatives will be discontinued’ (Pickering, 2016a). Mainstreaming was one of the objectives. Discontinuing initiatives, on the other hand, should only be justified if the Total Place initiative showed that such services were not needed or did not have the intended results, rather than discontinuing due to a constrained financial situation. However, Community Planning Partnerships now produce Locality Plans, which seemingly do largely what Total Place would have done, just under a different name. The plans focus on an area that would benefit most from improvement within a Community Planning Partnership area (The Scottish Government, 2015). Some concern has been expressed about the size of the localities, and there is a worry that issues in smaller communities will be overlooked (Pickering, 2016b), which goes against the Total Place ideology and supposed learning from the pilots.

Total Place has also received criticism in Edinburgh. It has been argued that ‘the tremendous work being done by community organisations seems to go largely unrecognised by

government...initiatives like Total Place ignore and duplicate processes that are already underway' (Astbury & Matthews, 2015), though the reduction of duplication of efforts has been sought with the approach. This is indicative of the tendencies of local governments to implement policies and invite third sector organisations to be involved (such as is the case in Community Planning Partnerships), without necessarily giving a thought to the fact that many third sector organisations have already been working on initiatives focused on similar issues, independently of the public sector. When looking at the historical development of the third sector and its relationship with the state, it is evident that this is by no means a new situation for voluntary and community organisations. In that sense, ill-coordinated Total Place or other place-based initiatives may very well lead to duplication in some local areas. This is something that requires attention in practice. Key organisations already collaborate intensively, but a concerted effort is needed to 'connect up all of the pieces of the community system', and by bringing all organisations working in a local area together in a more connected way, a more effective Total Place can be achieved (Astbury & Matthews, 2015). Perhaps also an earlier engagement with community organisations would be appropriate to avoid these issues.

Nonetheless, it was noted that the Total Place initiatives have been instrumental in relation to identifying wicked issues (The Edinburgh Partnership, 2015), and the preventative work would focus for instance on: improving the management of "clients in common"; improving the coordination and timing of service delivery; and developing approaches to dealing with whole households and families. The Edinburgh Partnership (2017) reported on the progress related to the aim to reduce antisocial behaviour, violence and harm. The council committed to action on developing models of engagement with families with complex needs, by drawing on the work of Total Place, introducing the Family and Household Support Service from September 2016. This 'service brings together community safety, household support and support for children in locality based teams' (The Edinburgh Partnership, 2017), the purpose being to promote the

well-being of children, families, individuals and communities, by supporting people to find a home, move house and to keep their home (Care Inspectorate, 2017).

Mitigation of social risk with this place-based social innovation

The Total Craigroyston Manager acknowledged that there is a lot of risks involved in public services, but they try to share risk and responsibility a bit more in this approach. She associated this with the change required in culture, where she stated that people need to take some responsibility to change their actions. On the other hand, this sharing of risk responsibility, while appropriate in theory, poses some challenges in practice. For example, the complexities involved in sharing risk in the field of child protection and other social work related fields is not easy: social workers feel that at the end of the day, they will be held responsible if something happens. This creates anxiety around risk issues in staff. It could be easier to manage risk with this approach; however, it needs governance arrangements and structures, professional trust and dialogue, understanding about people's roles and that people from different professions work differently. All of this takes time and dedication to build (Total Craigroyston Manager). The Total Craigroyston Manager made the observation that it would be good to involve also non-social workers in the discussions concerning risk in terms of individual families, the idea being that they should avoid the type of thinking where non-social workers who have made a referral to social workers can then 'relinquish their responsibility'; instead risk management concerning these families would be a joint effort. This follows the recommendations of PWC (2010) on how collaboration in Total Place approaches requires more effort from all participants.

The Total Neighbourhood East Manager believed that risk to individual service users might have been mitigated with this approach, due to the heightened level of joined-up working, for instance, as a result of working from the same building. Information sharing still often fails, and as a result, can lead to higher social risk in the individual service users' lives. This is due to every service still having their own databases, with a unified system missing. This issue with information sharing and knowledge management is something that needs to be dealt with to ensure a long-term future for this approach, and that again comes down to a required change in culture, or as the Christie Commission (2011) argued, a radical change in culture. The Total Neighbourhood East Manager argued that people have a fear and misunderstanding of the Data Protection Act causing this problem, hence why sharing is so limited. Information sharing was something that they put significant effort into, with the creation of a master data record that collects all relevant information, and the service providers can then contact each other for further detail regarding a specific customer (Total Craigroyston, 2015).

The Total Neighbourhood East Manager argued that the most significant risk really is to fail in what they are trying to do with the Total Place approach, because then the council will need to face even more cuts in their services, stating that: 'we are in a bit of a last chance saloon, in other words, Total Place is the last opportunity for success. Part of the recipe for success will be to deliver on the change in culture in the different organisations involved as well as the culture locally. The success of this approach is also linked to the potential lack of political support. The Total Neighbourhood East Manager argued that particularly politicians want immediate results, whereas this approach could take two to five years to deliver the desired outcomes, and if the political support waivers or disappears, then the commitment for this approach is no longer present, and that is a risk. However, given that the Neighbourhood Centre, where the Total Place is located, has been built for multi-agency work, the commitment for this approach seemed relatively strong (Building Safer Communities, 2014).

Given that lack of resources was found not to be the real problem in Edinburgh, but the lack of coordination of those resources, which resulted in higher social risk (Corporate Policy and Strategy Manager), one could assume that employing a Total Place approach, especially in problem areas across the city, should help mitigate social risk since locally focused coordination is characteristic of Total Place. As the Project Manager from a charity operating locally to Total Craigroyston noted:

That's exactly what Total Craigroyston is about, I think is to minimise the social risk, but I think it's a huge job. You've got years and years of families who stay locally who have often potential social issues. I think it is very difficult to address, it's not something that you can do quickly. I think there's a will to do it, it's how it is achieved and there's a lot of time and resources being put into that. If you're going to change something it's got to be through a partnership approach and you're going to be signed up to commit to it (Project Manager).

The key conclusions from reviewing the council's application of the Total Place approach is that it has led to less duplication of effort in the local areas where it has been utilised, as it has drawn together people and organisations from different areas to jointly attempt to solve local problems as opposed to trying to do this independently. However, if the council was to implement similar approaches, or approaches based on the learning from this approach, across the city, then it should learn from the criticism raised towards this initiative. The pre-existing connections in local areas should not be ignored but should instead be built on. Starting new initiatives from scratch may lead to more duplication of effort, which is not the desired effect.

Because social risks affecting different localities can be so varied, and with different responses needed to tackle each, a localised approach is needed rather than utilising a generic public service approach across the city. If this ideology is implemented in whatever approach the council takes forward (whether with Total Place or Localities working) then the council can change its public service system, one place at a time, which should help mitigate social risk in

specific localities. Arguably, if the Total Craigroyston model was replicated across the council, then the learning would not have been utilised effectively.

The combined commitment of all parties was seen as key to delivering Total Place initiatives successfully. It is concerning that the council's commitment to Total Place seemingly has waned, at a time when the level of commitment should be reinforced as the learning is intended to be deployed across the local authority. However, as noted, Total Place should not continue as originally started, but should continuously develop and deliver socially innovative approaches, otherwise it has not achieved its intended goal. One of the things that should come from the Total Place ideology is that social capital needs to be developed in local areas, which follows the idea that Total Place is not something the council should be doing for the people, but something, where the people can be actively involved and empowered, as only this way, can community resilience be developed and social risk be mitigated in the long term.

Conclusion

Total Place is in many ways a radically different way to deliver public services and therefore meets the requirements for Scottish public services as proposed by the Christie Commission (2011). It is apparent that for it (or other place-based approaches) to take an even stronger hold in the Scottish public service landscape, a fundamental change in culture is required (also indicated by the Christie Commission), not just among service providers and practitioners, but the local communities that are expected to contribute as well. It also needs the time and space to develop into its full potential: therefore, the commitment to this way of doing the work needs to be maintained. Any political uncertainty is likely to interrupt the work that is being done, potentially resulting in an opportunity being lost. This approach to public service delivery is

flexible and based on a process of trial and error, thus learning from failures is a crucial part of its development. This can only be achieved if the approach is allowed enough time to take root and generate desirable outcomes. Given that the Christie Commission (2011) report was one of the key drivers for implementing the Total Place approaches in Edinburgh, it seems somewhat strange that the council has not learned from one of its core messages: that the public service system should not be characterised by short-termism as this makes it difficult to prioritise preventative approaches. This should be a key learning point more broadly for Scottish local authorities engaging in Total Place approaches, or similar localities or neighbourhood-based approaches.

Nonetheless, it seems that the social risk to service users can be better mitigated with a Total Place approach, as there are less likely to be gaps in service provision with the increased integration of service providers. This conclusion can only be made of one of the Total Place approaches, not the broader localities working that the council seems to be implementing, as the new development came about after the review for this paper was completed. The case study council started the Total Place approach as a pilot, but it was always keen to increase place-based working. The council has tried three different Total Place approaches across the city, yet it was identified from the start that the challenge would be how to mainstream the approach. This challenge has become a reality now that one of these Total Place initiatives is no longer in operation, and the council has decided not to continue with it elsewhere due to lack of resources. If this were the outcome of all three Total Place initiatives, the council would have spent numerous working hours and financial resources into testing something that has not yielded any wide-reaching results. Recent searches of Total Place in Edinburgh do not show signs of it being actively used in a policy context or being reported about in the same way it was during the heyday of Total Craigroyston. Consequently, one has to assume that the pilots

were isolated approaches of good practice, which is not what the Christie Commission (2011) wanted for Scottish public services.

This is not to say that there have not been positive local outcomes, as this has clearly occurred with social risk having been mitigated locally in Craigroyston, thus, as a form of social innovation, Total Place has created social value (van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016). Yet, it seems to have fallen prey to the typical hurdle of social innovations – that the long-term impacts cannot be measured (Sinclair & Baglioni, 2014) due to the short-term nature of the initiative.

However, considering the issues of social risk mitigation and creation of social value beyond the local level, if the broader public service system does not change as result of these initiatives, then the systemic benefits have not materialised, signifying a failure, and a waste of public finances. The council seems to have taken some of the learning forward with its localities transformation programme, and also, community planning partnerships now involve producing Locality Plans for smaller areas (The Scottish Government, 2015) which seems to allow the Total Place ideology to be carried on in some shape across all Scottish local authority areas. Though, especially in relation to Edinburgh, if the council takes on board the learning associated with it exacerbating social risk (i.e. the council causing more chaotic situations for individuals), in any future approach that is implemented not just in the local areas the Total Place approach was tested in, then it can be argued that the initiatives to some extent can result in more systemic mitigation of social risk across the city.

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Table 1. Interview data

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Organisation or type</i>	<i>Time of interview</i>
Edinburgh Partnership Business Manager	The City of Edinburgh Council	October 2013
Corporate Policy and Strategy Manager	The City of Edinburgh Council	October 2013
Total Craigroyston Manager	The City of Edinburgh Council	January 2014
Total Neighbourhood East Manager	The City of Edinburgh Council	February 2014
Head of Support to Children and Young People	The City of Edinburgh Council	March 2014
Principal Officer: Enterprise Risk Management & Business Continuity	The City of Edinburgh Council	May 2014
Project Manager	Large charity operating in Edinburgh	May 2014
Acting Head of Service for Children and Families	The City of Edinburgh Council	May 2014

Table 2. Documentary data

<i>Author</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Document number</i>
The Edinburgh Partnership	2012	Edinburgh Partnership Executive and Forth Neighbourhood Partnership. Total Craigroyston: Report on Joint Meeting - 19 March 2012	1
Snook and Edinburgh Council	2012	The Total Craigroyston Process map	2
Snook and Edinburgh Council	2012	The Total Craigroyston Road Map	3
Care Inspectorate	2013	Services for children and young people in the City of Edinburgh: report of a pilot inspection	4
Audit Scotland	2013	The Audit of Best Value and Community Planning - The City of Edinburgh Council	5
Building Safer Communities	2013	The Easy Guide to Total Neighbourhood	6
Total Craigroyston	2013	Rough Guide to Total Craigroyston	7
Total Craigroyston	2013	Total Craigroyston Working Model	8
Total Craigroyston	2013	Taking Stock, Autumn 2013	9
Building Safer Communities	2014	Total Place: Examples of Total Place based approaches in Scotland	10
The Edinburgh Partnership	2014	Community Plan 2015/18	11
The Edinburgh Partnership	2014	Edinburgh Partnership – governance arrangements	12
The Edinburgh Partnership	2014	Pledges Performance May-October 2014: Pledge 36. Develop improved partnership working across the Capital and with the voluntary sector to build on the “Total Craigroyston” model	13
Total Craigroyston	2014	The building blocks to reduce youth crime - Where are we? Strengthening Universal Services	14
Total Craigroyston	2015	Total Craigroyston Annual Report	15
The City of Edinburgh Council	2015	Delivering the Citizens and Localities Services Project: Locality Transformation Plan	16
The Edinburgh Partnership	2015	Pledges Performance May - October 2015: Pledge 36. Ensuring Edinburgh, and its residents, are well cared-for	17
Astbury & Matthews	2015	Engaging Wester Hailes - Findings from the Valuing Different Perspectives Community Evaluation.	18
Total Craigroyston	2016	Mainstreaming Newsletter	19
Total Craigroyston	2016	Checking-out Presentation	20
Edinburgh Voluntary Organisations' Council	2016	North West Locality Information	21
The Edinburgh Children's Partnership	2016	Children's Services Plan 2017 to 2020	22
The North Edinburgh News/Dave Pickering	2016	Goodbye, Total Craigroyston; hello, Localities	23
The North Edinburgh News/Dave Pickering	2016	Total Craigroyston checks out	24
The North Edinburgh News/Dave Pickering	2016	Total Craigroyston – the final report	25
The Edinburgh Partnership	2017	Integrated Plan for Children and Young People 2015-18 Progress Report 2017 DRAFT	26

